COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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"The present Government, if I may judge from the experience of the last session of Parliament, or the "actual feelings of the people, has little to apprehend from the opposition of the Right Hon. Gen- "tleman (Mr. Windham). During that session, it must be admitted that we heard *many excellent* "*opposition speeches* (and I should be sorry that the Right Hon. Gentleman were deprived of the op- "portunity of amusing and instructing the House); but then we had to set off against them some "*good ministerial votes*, the cordial and zealous support of a very great majority of this House."—— MR. YORKE's Speech, December 9, 1803.



## TO THE SERIOUS CONSIDERATION OF THE PUBLIC.

(Additions to the statement in p. 577.)

The statement relative to our trade, revenue, expenditure, and debt, was, as to two points, left imperfect for want of the materials, from the use of which alone it could have been made perfect: I allude to the *present produce of the war taxes*, and to the *exhausted state of our sources of taxation in general*.... But, before I proceed to add to my former statement, let me correct some errors which I now find in it, and which, though they are of little consequence as to any of the conclusions that were drawn, are, nevertheless, of sufficient importance to merit particular notice here. In p. 584, the net produce of all the permanent taxes in 1803 was said to surpass the nett produce of 1802 in the amount of only "*half a million:*" it should have been, "a *million and a half*;" which, correction leads to another in the next page, where, in place of saying, that, making due allowance for depreciation of money, the nett produce of 1803, "did not surpass in the amount of one penny," that of 1802, I should have said, that the produce of the first mentioned year surpassed that of the latter in the amount of less than a million. The sums quoted in p. 584, and the subtraction of one from the other, are correct; but, in the remarks made thereon, the error here noticed crept in.——In p. 593, where, by way of illustration, a comparison is made in point proportion between the amount of the whole, and of the interest of the debt, in the years 1799 and 1803 respectively, the year 1798 is erroneously given instead of 1799.—In speaking of the *annual expenses* of the national debt, I have, almost uniformly, called them "*interest* of the debt." I should have named it, "*charge* on account of debt," because the sum I was speaking of included allowances to the bankers and others for management, and also several other items not properly denominated *interest*. This mistake could, indeed, make no difference at all as to the object or effect of the statement; but, in a subject of such vast importance, one cannot be too careful in the application of terms.——After having shown, that, during the last war, though the charge on account of the debt was doubled, the export trade was also doubled, I make the following remark: "here the proportion is kept up, and, "if it were still kept up, there would, per- "haps, be *little cause for alarm*." As this may, possibly, be construed into a declaration of an opinion, that, so long as the trade increases in proportion to the augmentation of the charge on account of debt, that charge may, with safety to the country, be augmented to any degree, I think it necessary to state, that I entertain no such opinion; and, that, in the passage above quoted, "little "cause for alarm," I meant alarm with respect to our ability, during the present war, to defray the charges of the debt and to support our other necessary expenses, never intending to let drop any expression from which it might be concluded, that I did not regard the increase of the charge on account of debt, under whatever circumstances of increased trade and revenue, as an evil of a most alarming nature, and one, to which, if not speedily put a stop to, the monarchy must fall a sacrifice.....I now proceed to my *additions*.

FIRST: As to the *present produce of the war-taxes*. Since the preceding sheet was published, there has been laid before Parliament an account of the net produce of those taxes from the commencement of their collection, on the 5th of July last, to the 5th of this present month of April, embracing exactly three quarters of a year, and showing the quarterly produce, thus:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| The Quarter ended 10th Oct... | £631,705 | 18 | 9¾ |
| 5th Jan... | 1,242,966 | 4 | 2 |
| 5th April | 1,866,647 | 2 | 11¼ |
| Three Quarters..... | 3,741,319 | 5 | 11 |

The remark that first presses forward here, is, that we have not *even yet* obtained, from this source, the 4,500,000*l.* which we ought to have had on the 5th of January. When,

on the 21st of March, the Doctor, in answer to a question from Lord Folkestone, asserted, that, he meant the war-taxes to produce 4,500,000l. in the first year ending on the 5th of *April*, and not on the 5th of *January*, who would not have imagined, that, by the 5th of April, he would have taken care to bring forward a produce to that amount? Who would have thought, that, after having excited so much curiosity on the subject, he would not have been provided for a satisfactory result? Could those who contemned his judgment the most, those who were the most anxious to see him exposed to new shame; could even such persons have hoped, that, he would in the latter end of April come lagging out with an account, showing that the war-taxes, those taxes which were to have produced 4,500 000l. in January, had, in three months afterwards, produced only 3,700,000l.?——The account here referred to shows the amount of the produce of each tax in each quarter. It will be perceived, that the last quarter has been, as, indeed it must have been, the most productive; but, it does, nevertheless, appear, that some of the taxes, some of even these war-taxes, have not only reached their utmost stretch, but are already upon the decline. The war-taxes upon Goods and Shipping, for instance, yielded 377,738l. during the quarter which ended on the 5th of January, whereas, during the quarter which ended on the 5th of April, those taxes yielded no more than 258,976l. The war-tax on Tea discovers similar symptoms of decline. During the quarter ending in January, it produced 309,022l. but, during the April quarter it produced only 266,161l. It must, indeed, be allowed, that this falling-off in the tax upon goods and shipping may be, in part, at least, owing to the circumstance of the winter quarter being unfavourable to the making of shipments; yet, some part of the decrease must be attributed to a general decline in the export trade. As to Tea, I am less acquainted with the causes that are likely to operate upon a tax thereon imposed, but, as I find it yielding, even in the first quarter, 215,813l. and, as I see it fall off considerably in the third, I must attribute the falling off to a decrease in the quantity sold and used; and, indeed, this falling-off was explicitly predicted by an intelligent and sensible correspondent, whose letter will be found in the Register of the 4th of February last, present Vol. p. 135, and the passage I particularly allude to in p. 141. It must be observed, too, that there was a tax upon Tea before; a permanent tax; and, that this tax, as well as the war-tax is now collected. It will, therefore, not be at all surprising, if, before the present year has expired, the prediction of my correspondent should be verified in all its parts, and that both taxes together should not produce so much as was before produced by the old tax alone.—Another view of these war taxes is this: the Doctor estimated their net produce at 12,500,000l. annually. Let us try this estimate by the net produce of the quarter which has just been completed, and into which, we may be assured, every attainable shilling was brought. That quarter produced 1,866,647l. which, multiplied by 4, amounts to 7,466,588l. the produce of a year of those taxes, which were said to be taken, by way of "*superabundant* precaution," at 12,500,000l. In the statement to which I am making these additions, I ventured, before I was in possession of the account now before me, to predict, that the present war-taxes would not yield more than 6,250,000l. annually, if all the old taxes remained unrepealed, and all kept up to their produce of 1803. If the whole year of war-taxes produced 6,250,000l. the first quarter would have produced only 1,562,000l. and, we see that it has produced, 1,866,000l. but, has there been no falling-off in the old, or permanent taxes? Have these taxes kept up to their produce of 1803?

SECOND: To the foregoing questions a complete answer is found in a comparison between the net produce of the old or permanent taxes, during the quarter which ended on the 5th of April last year, and the net produce of the same taxes during the quarter which ended on the 5th of April this year *.

| | £. |
|---|---|
| Net produce of permanent taxes in the quarter ended 5th April, 1803.. | 6,261,000 |
| Same taxes quarter ended 5th April, 1804..... | 5,916,000 |
| | £345,000 |

Here we see, that, while the war-taxes have, in the last quarter, yielded 304,000l. beyond the fourth part of 6,500,000l. the old taxes have fallen short of their last year's produce, in the corresponding quarter, to the amount of 345,000l. So that my prediction of last week will, I think, appear to have been by no means hazardous; and, I also think, that it will not require much exertion to satisfy any reasonable person, that, with our present trade, *the sources of taxation are nearly exhausted*, a position which, at every step in our examination of

* This statement is taken from an account now before the House of Commons, dated 17th of this present month of April.

the grounds on which it rests, will appear less and less doubtful. The *whole* of the taxes of last year, though embracing only 1,800,000 l. of the war-taxes, yielded 32,585,419 l. 17 s. 0½ d.; and, if we suppose, that the *whole* of the taxes will this year produce, in each quarter, as much and no more than they have produced in the first quarter, to wit, 7,783,349 l. 17 s. 0¼ d. then the whole produce of this year will fall more than a million short of the produce of last year. But, a more conspicuous mode of statement is this: LAST YEAR the taxes, *exclusive* of war-taxes, produced 30,700,000 l. THIS YEAR, *including* war-taxes, the produce, if every quarter is like the first quarter, will be 31,100,000 l. So that, by imposing war-taxes to the amount of 12,500,000 l. the Doctor adds me 400,000 l. to the revenue!!! And *this* is to "convince the "enemy that it is *hopeless* for him to contend with our pecuniary resources!" *This* is to "convince the other powers of Europe "that they may *safely join us in a common* "*cause*, for, that the resources of this country are such as to give *full security* for the "punctual discharge of any engagement it "may enter into!" *This* is to "inspire "*confidence* at home and *respect abroad*!"

——When the Doctor uttered these words, what must he have thought? How completely ignorant he must have been of the whole matter upon which he was talking; or, how far beyond that of ordinary men must have been his contempt for the opinions of mankind! It is not till now that I have waited to point out the falsehood of his statements upon the occasion alluded to. I did it *immediately* after those statements were made; and this fact alone is a sufficient proof of his total want of knowledge and judgment on the subject, or, of his having acted with a deliberate intention to deceive the People, the Parliament, and the King, and thereby to prolong the duration of his power and emoluments; for, to that motive alone an intentional deception can possibly be ascribed, unless we suppose him to entertain the diabolical delight of doing mischief for mischief sake, a disposition, of which, if we look at the thousands and thousands heaped upon his family, we must certainly have the justice to acquit him.

I shall be asked, perhaps, what is the use of exposing these evils and dangers, unless I can point out a remedy. I do not know, that a remedy can be pointed out; but, that is no reason that I should not expose the evil, nor that I should refrain from calling for justice on the heads of those, through whose means that evil has come upon us. Besides, to begin the cure we must get of the cause of our malady; that cause is the Doctor: in his hands we have been brought to death's door; and few persons, I hope, will be so unjust as to deny, that I have used my utmost endeavours to remove that cause: few persons, I trust, however they may be prejudiced against me, will regard it as my fault that the country is still subjected to this degrading curse. I repeat, that I do not know that any remedy can be found for the financial evils which the Doctor has brought upon us; but, am I for that reason to abstain from exposing those evils? When a thief has taken a purse and spent it, there is, as to the loss, no remedy; but, is that a reason why the robbery should not be exposed and the thief punished? This cry for a remedy has stood the ministers in great stead. 'If you do not like what we have 'done, or are about to do, why do you not 'point out something better in place of it? 'Why do you complain of evils unless you 'are provided with a remedy?' This, in substance, they have said, in Parliament, fifty times, during the present session and the last, and, in two or three instances, they have been supported therein by Mr. Sheridan. That the "men taken from the middling classes of society" should hold such language is natural enough: it comports with their vulgar and grovelling notions, according to which the affairs of a state are reduced to a level with those of a shop; but, for a man like Mr. Sheridan to give into the same strain is scandalous in the extreme.——If there be any remedy for the decline in the revenue, it must be to produce an increase in the quantity of the objects of taxation; for, as to augmenting the rate of the taxes, experience has proved that to be worse than useless. An increase in the quantity of the objects of taxation is to be effected only by an increase of trade; and, an increase of trade is to be effected only by a recovery of our influence in those countries of Europe, with which we formerly carried on an uninterrupted commerce, but which are now under the control of France. We were told, at the time of making the peace, that, in spite of all the restraints which France might, in these unhappy countries, impose upon our trade, that trade would still keep on increasing; that our goods were become necessaries on the Continent, and that they would find their way maugre the malice of our enemies. This was the doctrine of those "*prudent* young men," those "*solid* young lords," those wise, those "*safe* politicians," Lords Hawkesbury and Castlereagh. My

answer was: "yes, in spite of all France "can do, the nations of Europe *must*, for "some time at least, receive our manufac "tures; but, every obstacle thrown in their "way will surely enhance their price to the "consumer, which will as surely diminish "the quantity consumed *." And, who will now deny, that the decline in our trade is to be ascribed, in great part, if not almost entirely, to this cause? To a loss of that influence which we formerly possessed on the continent of Europe, and particularly in those countries with which we traded? Whether this influence could now be recovered by *any* ministry, is a question that I am not prepared to answer; but, that it never can be recovered by the Doctor and his colleagues, is, I presume, a position that no one but a Treasury hireling will dispute.

*April* 24, 1804. WM. COBBETT.

## COALITION.

SIR,——Lord Bacon has well observed (and his observation has often been alluded to) that speaking makes a ready man, writing a correct man, and reading a full man. He might have added, that thinking makes a great man. But what sort of men will the absence of all these make? Why, just such as are your present political adversaries, just such too as are the scribblers, who have lately thought fit to attack 'the 'thoughts recommendatory of a coalition,' which you noticed in your Register some five weeks ago. When these gentlemen shall have read more, written more, and thought more, they will be, not great men, I cannot promise them that, but certainly something more tolerable than they now are; for the present they must rest content with the wonted half dozen of neighbourly subscribers, who live within a door or two of their Printing-office; and, in the meanwhile, may not unusefully employ themselves in poring for illustrations into Chambers's Dictionary, or even (by way of promotion) in getting up the monthly catalogue of some dying Review. It is neither worth your time nor mine to trouble ourselves about them. The division of last night (23d April) in the House of Commons, calls us to better things: and, I trust, Sir, you will not be unwilling to accept my congratulations on the conduct which Mr. Pitt has at length adopted. I am persuaded, that his future course will not be found contradictory to that sense of usefulness, which has determined him thus openly to arraign the present servants of the Crown. I would willingly ascribe to motives less unamiable than that selfish avarice of power, of which his indecision sometimes led you to suspect him, his long doubtful hesitating opposition. I would assign to feelings of a milder kind, feelings for those, whom he once recommended to power, his slowness to pronounce that now unmitigated condemnation, which their tried incapacity has forced from him. I admit, that the morality which dictated (created, if you will) his evident irresolution, was of a nature too feeble and too puny for a mind like his: but there is yet nothing in it unnatural; nothing which may not be easily forgiven, if not praised; nothing which may not justify expectation of a manlier march in future. I fully believe myself, what is said to have fallen from the attorney-general, in the debate of last night, that Mr. Pitt will *not withdraw* himself from *any mode* of action, which the service of his country may require, and it is in consequence of that belief, that I now with confidence look forward to an administration formed between him and Mr. Fox. Far however, from thinking with the learned gentleman, that there would in such a junction be any sacrifice of talent or virtue; I, on the contrary, believe it would be the sacrifice of selfish feelings, the death of personal and interested views. So widely do I differ from him, that I in no way can account for his opinion, (of his honour there is not a doubt to hang a loop on) but by imagining his legal studies have robbed him of the leisure necessary for inquiring upon what basis political morality subsists. I have always understood, that in cases not forbidden by divine or human laws, the test of action was utility; far be from us of England that spurious principle, which to attain a useful end, asserts, *all* means may be employed; but far also be from us that shrinking sensibility, which fears to do, what it approves, because the vulgar cannot comprehend, wherefore it is done. I am indeed yet to learn against what (except the ministers) the measure in contemplation can by any possibility offend. Surely against no sacred law, and surely too not against the laws of the land. 'O, but there 'is a third law, a law of honour;' there is so, it is the lowest of the three, but it is yet something. Most tardy should I be to violate it. But how, Sir, is the law of honour sinned against? I am not quite willing that Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox should take as an example Mr. Tierney, or upon him pin their

* Letters on the Preliminaries of Peace, published in December 1801, p. 240.

justification: yet, as observed by Mr. Windham, it is somewhat strange, that *he* should be accepted, and, that yet the pardon granted to him should be refused to them. The truth is, the desired measure needs not pardon. If to have attained that breadth of understanding, which teaches men of genius, to admit as natural that very difference of opinion which they oppose: if, to feel and to acknowledge that the active spirit, kindling in its progress, necessarily rushes into extremes, till that germ of separation, which in the cabinet might have been a span distant, becomes in the wide field of public disputation a seeming gulph. If to feel this, and the hour of battle past, to hasten to forget it; if this be weak, then is a coalition proof of weakness. If willingness to resign, when a great occasion asks it, the self flattering sensation of heading a free party in a free assembly; if willingness to meet on equal terms an equal rival, be selfish; then is a coalition proof of selfishness. If to cherish high and enthusiastic sentiments, whether of loyalty, of birth, or of freedom, yet so to regulate those sentiments as to make them not restrictive of, but, as they ought to be, conducive to our country's welfare, be dishonourable, then is a coalition proof of dishonour. I will not, Sir, so wrong the attorney general as to suspect, that *he* can seriously believe the emoluments of office have an influence upon any of the great parties to this measure. I am told that he is personally hostile to one of them, yet cannot I so lightly hold his judgment as to think, that even that obnoxious individual is suspected by him of love of place for its emoluments. And if power be the object, is it ambition in *excess* for him to accept of half, who is a competitor for the whole? No, Sir, the sole, real question, as to the propriety of a coalition, is, in my mind, whether either Mr. Pitt or Mr. Fox can separately render to the country the same benefit, which may be rendered by them conjointly? To this my own answer certainly is, they cannot. And should it accord with the previous arrangement of your Register, I shall be glad, Sir, in the ensuing week to state to you the reasons upon which my answer rests; for the present, I will only add, that there certainly is no such jealousy betwixt them, as need at all lead us to despair of their eventual union. We know, from Mr. Burke, that at the beginning of the late war, a situation in the cabinet equal to his high talents was offered, with Mr. Pitt's approval, to Mr. Fox. Yet Mr. Fox had *then* been long the opponent of Mr. Pitt's administration. We know that Mr. Fox now considers the return of Mr. Pitt to power as an event, compared with the existence of the Addington cabal, devoutly to be desired. It is said too, that he has avowed his wish, did events call upon himself to advise a new administration, to offer Mr. Pitt a leading situation. With these sensations towards each other, what is there that ought long to keep them asunder? I trust in spite of underling intriguers that nothing will.——I am, &c. &c.—F. C.

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IRISH CURRENCY.

Sir,—This subject, in itself extremely intricate, especially in Ireland, while it requires the most dispassionate investigation, has generally been treated by interested persons, bankers, or money-changers, whose interest stands diametrically opposite to the interest of the public—and whose opinions, biassed by their interest, are not only deceptive to those who read, but even to those who utter them.—Under no such biasis the author of this letter; he feels no interest in the subject but in common with the nation; and, therefore, though he may err in his opinions, it will be the error of honesty.——I think it may be fairly said, and without a figure of speech, that at this present writing, March 26, there is no circulating coin in this his Majesty's good city of Dublin; and, in three-fourths of the kingdom of Ireland, the miserable currency which, with infinite difficulty and great loss, circulates amongst us, consists of base, white or blue metal, passing for shillings, of change notes, and of brass, lead, or copper tokens, stamped by private persons, and passing for halfpence. —— I have never been able to understand why a guinea should be called twenty-one shillings in England, and twenty-two shillings and nine-pence in Ireland; why a shilling should be twelve pence in England, and thirteen pence in Ireland; in a word, why an hundred pounds in England should be one hundred and eight pounds six and eight pence in Ireland, when money is said to be at par; that is, when in the course of business, as much money is transmitted from England to Ireland, as from Ireland to England; and, therefore, unless some one shall shew me that any advantage or benefit results to the public from this difference in the nominal value of money, I shall assume it for granted, that one uniform rate of coin throughout the United Kingdom would greatly tend to simplify exchange, and to assimilate the different parts of the union; and in this opinion I am fortified by the conduct of the British government after the

union of Scotland with England. The Scots pound, previous to the union, was one pound one shilling and eight pence British—but ever since it has been twenty shillings, as in England. It has long been the grand *desideratum* throughout the British isles, that weights, measures, and coins should every where be equalized; there never can be a better opportunity for equalizing the coin than the present, when we are circumstanced precisely as if we never had any coin—and as the subject must be undertaken *de novo*, government have now an opportunity of affixing to a new coinage any value it may think proper.—— In a new coinage I am not at all anxious that the quantity of gold, of silver, or of copper, should be really and intrinsically equal in value to the sum for which it is to pass (expense of coinage excepted). The price of gold and silver, like all other commodities, perpetually fluctuates; and, therefore, a coinage, almost equal in intrinsic to its nominal value, is in continual danger of going to the crucible, or worse, to the Continent;—whereas, if the pieces pass throughout the United Kingdom for considerably more than the intrinsic value, there is no danger of their being melted down or exported.—But it will be objected, that if coins have a nominal value considerably greater than their intrinsic value, ingenious but dishonest men will be tempted to imitate such coins and throw the imitations into circulation. This, I grant, may happen, but not in a degree at all equal to the forgeries that have been discovered of bank notes; these two species of fraud are not performed with equal facility; an artist locked up in a closet, with an apparatus capable of being enclosed in a tea-chest, may perform the whole process of making bank notes to any amount; the thing has been repeatedly performed; while it requires large and ponderous machinery, and the aid of divers artificers to form the imitation of a coin, and after all, if the counterfeit be gold or silver, of the same fineness with the piece imitated, we have something for our money, whereas in a forged bank note we have nothing at all. It may, indeed, be said, that giving an higher nominal than the intrinsic value of a coin, is bringing, by violent temptation, unwary men to the gallows: in reply to this, I say, that within the last seven years more persons have been hanged and transported for imitating Irish bank notes, than for counterfeiting coin since the creation of the world.——A foolish assertion has been made, that though the difference between a golden guinea and a guinea bank note is two shillings and sixpence, yet bank notes are not depreciated: now, if by the word depreciated is meant and understood lowered in value, and if at any time the value of a guinea bank note was equal to a golden guinea, and would exchange and pass for the same, then certainly a guinea bank note is now lowered in its value, as without the addition of two shillings and sixpence it will not now purchase a golden guinea, and is therefore very properly said to be depreciated.—The original motive for prohibiting the bank from making payments in specie, has never been well understood. This prohibition was made at the beginning of the last war, and it was then pretended it was to prevent our specie from being sent to the enemy: this pretence was shallow indeed; for however well-disposed our worthy United Irishmen and Jacobins were to aid the French in the ruin of our country, the greater part were poor rogues, without money or means, and certainly there was not one amongst the few wealthy who would be so prodigal of his wealth as to send any of it to France, without getting in return some commodity in value to the money remitted, and this trade has all along been licensed.——Another pretence was, that in times of such danger and peril as the present, and those we have lately passed, people would be induced to hoard and hide their specie. This possibly would have been the case; but does not the restriction on the bank operate precisely in the same way; or rather, is it not better for the public that individuals who will bring it out when they find it their interest, should hoard their specie, than that it should be hoarded by Proprietors of the Bank, whose interest it must always be to circulate their paper and retain the specie?——I believe the true reason for arresting the specie in the Bank of England last war was, that the minister might have a fund of specie for the remittances of loans, subsidies, payment of troops, and various other demands to the Continent; and the Bank of England being restrained, it followed as of necessity in Ireland.—— But to put the question to a short issue, I will ask, does any man at this day carry one hundred golden guineas to the bank and take for them, as change, one hundred guinea notes? I believe we need not hesitate to answer this question in the negative; as any man having an hundred golden guineas which he was desirous to change, would much rather carry them to any change broker, or almost to any merchant, who for the said one hundred golden guineas would give him an hundred and twelve, nay, sometimes an hundred and fourteen bank notes, or paper

guineas for the one hundred golden ones; and if so, then there can be no clearer deduction made from premises, than that there is a depreciation of twelve or fourteen per cent. on bank paper.——The notes of the Bank of Ireland only, now in circulation, have a nominal value of 2,600,000l. but at a depreciation of half-a-crown in a guinea, suppose that depreciation to grow no worse, the public loses 325,000l.—Now suppose a coinage to issue for the nominal sum of 2,600,000l. but intrinsically less in value, after coinage expense, by a sum of 325,000l. how is the public affected? Why the said sum is in the nature of a tax, which makes no man the poorer—is perfectly unfelt and brings a supply to the exigencies of the state to the amount of 325,000l.——R. S.—*Dublin, 26th March*, 1804.

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### THE DOCK-YARDS.

Sir,——It is not for the purpose of sinking the leading members of administration in the estimation of the public, that I trouble you with this letter. They have done more to crush themselves than the bitterest of their opponents could have devised, and are in fact, fallen so low, that it were almost barbarous to add to the miseries of their degradation. Our judgment however, must not yield to the suggestions of pity, when the paramount duty which we owe to our country is involved in the question.—I have had occasion lately to converse with several leading men in our Dock-yards, unconnected with each other, and the result of their several communications, I lament to say, is most fearful. The rash and intemperate person at the head of the Admiralty, (whose obstinacy has defied and baffled the efforts of his trembling colleagues in administration, to turn him out, for these last twelve months) has by the same unbending tenacity of his own ill-formed opinions, resolved to adhere to a system which threatens annihilation to our navy. Nay, I have no hesitation to say, that a perseverance in it for one year more, will so far cripple our means, and curtail our resources, as to render it impossible for any future Board of Admiralty (be it the very reverse of the present, suppose it to be possessed of the first rate talents, and the most rigid integrity,) to restore our navy to its proper standard under ten years of profound peace. And shall Englishmen tamely bear this? Shall we suffer under the gross and wilful deception of a minister whose talents and powers are the laughing stock of his very creatures and partisans? Shall we submit to have our burthens tripled upon us, when the faith of government was pledged that no increase of them should take place? Shall a minister, and such a one as defiles the seat of authority at this moment, pledge himself to our representatives not to raise more than 6 millions by way of loan, and in a few short months afterwards, publicly state to the contractors, that he certainly should not want less than 16 millions; and, shall it all pass without a comment from those representatives? Shall the country be kept in total ignorance upon a subject which involves the welfare, nay, the existence of the constitution; and shall men be peaceably allowed to exercise the executive functions, the supreme authority of the Empire, whose *good intentions* are become proverbially ironical, and whose qualifications do not raise them above the very ordinary routine of private life? Superadded to all these evils, shall our first and great resource be cut off, and the annals of our naval glory be brought to a period, through the petulant and arbitrary misconduct of an individual and a few contemptible satellites? Where! where is the spirit of our forefathers? It is no more. It is fallen and will not rise again. From the vituperation and dogmatical mandate issued by the lords paramount of the Admiralty, and the restrictions laid upon the contractor, and upon the persons authorized to receive timber in the King's Dock-yards, that most important article has been taken to any and every market in preference to the King's service. And this same enlightened Board (enlightened by men interested in pampering their crude and puerile conceits, and aggrandizing themselves by raising windmills for their sage employers to destroy,) after all their outrageous and ridiculous conduct, have still looked to the merchant sooner or later for the usual supply of timber felled; but, alas, poor prudent souls to their utter surprise and astonishment, they now find, upon inquiry, that it has all been consumed in building merchant vessels, and in country uses even, owing to the high price of foreign timber! At this moment, though scarcely credible, it is a fact that the yards, instead of having three years stock in hand, as under former administrations, have *not one*, whilst the crippled state of our navy, owing to its having been constantly at sea, and our necessary losses from the magnanimous system of blockading now pursued, require and demand an infinitely greater stock than at any period of our naval history. This, I suppose, is meant to contribute to that appearance of economy by which the narrow-minded, shallow-witted politicians of the present Board, and, indeed, of the whole administration,

think to deceive a British public; and really, taken into the scale with the account of hemp given in your last number, it will make a very handsome drawback upon current expenses; two tolerably essential and heavy articles, hemp and timber; the one being stored by a preceding and provident administration; the other not being stored at all, and left to be arrayed by some future administration.——Well, Sir, but people will talk, and these good men began when driven into a corner to grow frightened and alarmed, and to *whisper* their apprehensions. They very humbly called upon the timber trade, and requested to know the cause of the alarming deficiency; but, before they could return an answer, a sharp twitch of the gout, or some equally important incentive, produced a mandate to *compel* the Navy Board to send out a surveyor to make purchases piecemeal through the country; which, if he succeeded in obtaining, must be done at the expense of the country, to the amount of from four to six per cent. according to the most moderate calculation, above what it would have cost, had it proceeded on the established plan, through the hands of the contractor.——I have only to add, that no man is more ready than myself to hail with admiration any reform of flagrant abuses; but, having myself been at Martinique, when the noble earl at the head of the Admiralty was there also, and *witnessed abuses of a very flagrant nature indeed*, which have not even called forth inquiry, I cannot help thinking that forbearance to a certain degree would have better graced the Earl's coronet, and the Presidency of the Admiralty Board, than a querulous, pettish, vexatious, and, I may add, frivolous interference on points of no importance in themselves, but of a very mischievious tendency from the turn given to them by the government. SILVA.

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### REPRIMANDING OFFICERS.

SIR,——Having observed in your paper a propensity to correct the errors of the day, there is one, which seems to me, to require your notice, as it concerns the whole British army. I mean, the custom which has crept into the service of reprimanding field-officers at the head of their regiment, than which nothing can be more pernicious, as it very much tends to lessen that authority which every officer ought to have over the men entrusted to him by his Majesty. I have seen the orders of very experienced commanders, in which all officers are particularly directed not to find fault, even with non-commissioned officers, in presence of their squads; if such admonition should be necessary, it is to be applied in private. Such orders exist in many regiments at this time. Now, Sir, it is rumoured, that a certain officer commanding, has, for some imaginary or trivial cause, sent the commanding officer of an old and excellent regiment to the rear, and ordered the regiment to be exercised by the next officer.——Such conduct, I conceive to be an insult to the whole British army, and the redress of which they have a right to expect when the King's son is at the head of them. Though the individual may be satisfied by an apology, and the hospitality of the table, the insult to the army in general still remains and calls for Royal interference. What is the country to expect from a commander (should an invasion take place) who cannot command himself?—— AN OLD SOLDIER.—*April* 28, 1804.

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### NAVAL ECONOMY.

SIR,——With the highest opinion of Lord St. Vincent's judgment in naval tactics, and his integrity as a private man, I have always wondered at his being selected as the most proper person to preside at the Admiralty. On a variety of subjects there is no doubt of his being able to afford useful information from his large experience; but surely, a mere sailor is as little qualified for the vast system of naval philosophy, as a mere artificer is to form the various machines of nice and complicated mechanism, to calculate their present powers, and invent new properties, although he may have skilfully directed, and successfully employed them in his own manufactory. His lordship, while a seaman, has noted abuses to exist in various departments wherein he is an ample judge, and it is an honest feeling which urges him to correct them; but, it does not follow that either to correct abuse, or economise extravagance, we are so to starve the whole frame as to enfeeble the energy and paralyse the vitals of a constitution.——I have just received the inclosed letter from a lieut. of the navy, who in the last war behaved with intrepidity and reputation amidst unusual hardships, to which his superior officers bore ample testimony; he has been laid aside till within a few weeks past on half pay, when he received intelligence of his being appointed to a signal-post, and peremptory orders to proceed immediately for Cork, to put himself under the Admiral; he instantly obeyed, leaving his own private concerns in confusion and under the management of others, that he might be at his post when called upon. His letter will explain his present situation, which requires but one comment. If our officers are to be

starved instead of rewarded, we shall very soon want honourable men to fill up their stations.——PUBLIUS.

ENCLOSURE.

"I have been arrived here these nine days, and know just as much where I am to be placed as when I saw you last; it appears that the houses for our residence are not finished, and there are only three or four begun; which I am informed, *may* be ready in three weeks: the others will not be complete in as many months. There are nine lieutenants waiting here, and which will be appointed first I know not. Lord Gardner says, we are to continue on our half-pay till we go to our stations; and, he absolutely refused to sign a certificate that I had complied with the directions of the Lords of the Admiralty, and put myself under his command. All he could do was to give us King's allowance *, and we are to find our own lodging out of it. I pay 18s. per week for a dirty place, and every article of provisions is dearer here than in England. The most frugal way of living costs me 3 guineas per week; probably, by the time I get my appointment, I shall get pretty deep in debt. There is no exertion in the naval department, every thing is flat."

MR. DRAKE.

MR. COBBETT,——In your Register of the 14th of this month you assert, that you have *no doubt* as to the *authenticity* of the letters which are, by the Moniteur, ascribed to Mr. Drake. Let me ask *you*, whether it is manly, whether it is liberal, whether it is constitutional to condemn Mr. Drake unheard?—The weight of the accusation, the heinousness of the charge of being the abettor of assassins, (a crime from which every generous mind shrinks back with horror,) should surely have induced you to *pause* before you subscribed your almost unqualified conviction of its truth. Is it in this instance alone that you have pinned your faith on the *official* papers of the French government? In this instance alone are you ready to give credit to the declations of an enemy never remarkable for conscientiously adhering to the text of truth, which in other cases you would have weighed and sifted with your usual sagacity, coolness, and impartiality. Has not your opposition to a *weak*, though I trust, not a *wicked* ministry, induced you to assent, on slight grounds, to a charge which, if hereafter proved, *must* implicate them in its criminality? The character of your paper on the Continent has been fully established. What then will be the opinion of foreigners when they read the paragraph alluded to? Will they not suppose that you must have built your conviction on evidence far stronger than that to which *they* have had access through the medium of French papers? You will not, I trust, hesitate to insert this letter in your Saturday's paper. Happy indeed should I be if this humble effort shall tend to rescue, in some degree, from premature condemnation, those, who, I hope and trust, will stand fully acquitted hereafter before the tribunal of the world at large.—OXONIENSIS, *April* 20, 1804.

* "King's allowance is one pound of bread, one pound of meat, and half a pint of spirits per day. If I choose to bring them on shore in my pocket I may; if not, the purser will allow 4d ½ per day for them: there is not one will accept it. So much for economy! The navy is in a bad way. None of us can even get our sixpence per mile, as allowed by Act of Parliament, for travelling expenses."

## DOMESTIC OFFICIAL PAPERS.

*Relative to the Capture of Goree. Dated Downing Street, April 22, 1804.*

Dispatches, of which the following are copies, were this day received by the Right Hon. Lord Hobart, one of his Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, from Colonel John Fraser, Commandant of the Settlement of Goree, on the Coast of Africa.

MY LORD, Goree, Africa, Feb. 5, 1804.

On the 17th of January, about noon, a negro arrived from Yoff, and reported that a fleet had been seen from thence, that morning, at day light, and appeared to be standing for Goree.——Before two o'clock vessels were seen from the hill behind Cape Emanuel; near four they came round the Cape; the squadron consisting of one ship, carrying a commodore's pendant, and five armed schooners, with pendants, all shewing French colours, and with large boats towing after them.——The commodore fired a gun, and hoisted a red flag at his fore-mast head, which we have since learnt was meant as a signal to us, that in case of attack during night, no quarter would be given.——About sunset the squadron tacked, and before dark was near the anchorage, standing in.——The inhabitants having agreed to assist, in defending the Island, against any attempt that should be made from Senegal, and being of opinion that the present force was of that nature, such measures were taken as appeared most likely to prevent the enemy from landing during the night. All the arms that could be procured were accordingly issued to the inhabitants, who, with the garrison, were stationed at the different posts round the Island.——The moon set at eleven, and affairs remained in the situation described until about three o'clock on the 18th; when shortly after I had returned to the Beach Battery from visiting the posts, a fresh firing commenced on the East side of the Island, from boats, and at the same instant a schooner came in sight, standing directly for the beach; a strong and well directed fire of great guns and musketry was immediately opened

upon her, and the people on board, being either wounded or driven below, she drifted on shore. ——In the mean time the boats, to the number of eight, full of troops, had unfortunately effected a landing on the rocks to the east side of the town, where the surf happened to be unusually low, and having overcome the force which was opposed to them, they had penetrated through the town as far as the main guard, of which, after being once repulsed, they gained possession, making some prisoners.——The inhabitants having given way nearly on all sides, and the enemy being now in full force on our right, it appeared advisable to form a junction with the soldiers in the North Point Battery, where we should retain the command of the Beach, and be ready to check any farther attempt to land, until some information could be received of the strength and situation of the enemy, to enable me to judge what ought to be done.——The firing continued until towards six o'clock when being yet uncertain what number had landed, and in hopes that the main guard was the only post held by the enemy, I directed that it should be attacked by the soldiers I had with me, which was executed with great alacrity, and the post carried, with considerable loss on the part of the enemy; on our side it was less as to numbers, but I lost the assistance of a very gallant officer, Doctor Heddle, being shot through the breast in the attack, when Capt. Lloyd was also slightly wounded. ——We now learned that the enemy had possession of the hill, where Capt. Lloyd proposed to attack them; a measure I should gladly have adopted, but the day beginning to break, we had the mortification to see them appear in such numbers as left no room to suppose there was any probability of success, our force being reduced, by killed, wounded, and prisoners, to about twenty-five soldiers, Capt. Lloyd, Lieut. Christy, and myself——At this time the enemy's vessels were standing closer in, apparently to land a reinforcement; and the inhabitants, seeing French colours on the hill, came to me, asking leave to treat.——Under these circumstances, and exposed to the enemy's fire on all sides, farther resistance appeared vain; I therefore felt it my duty to comply with the request of the inhabitants, and sent an officer with them, proposing terms of capitulation for the garrison —— The officer who commanded the storming party having been killed, the annexed terms were verbally agreed to with the senior who survived, to be communicated to the commandant of the squadron; until his answer should be received, firing ceased, and we continued to occupy the battery.— The terms of capitulation being confirmed by the Commandant Mahe, the soldiers grounded their arms, and the place was surrendered.——We were informed that the enemy's force consisted of four schooners, which had been fitted out at Cayenne, and supplied with soldiers for the purpose of attacking Goree; that they had touched at Senegal, where they had been furnished with additional boats, pilots, a reinforcement of soldiers, and another schooner, and where they had been joined by the ship, which happening to call at Senegal, was put in requisition for this expedition: the squadron altogether carried upwards of sixty guns, and six hundred men, about two hundred and forty of whom had been landed; the whole, under the command of Monsieur Mahe, Lieutenant de Vaisseau, the commodore's pendant having been hoisted only while coming in, by the captain of the ship, who had held that rank in their navy during the late war——On the evening of the action we had fifty-four white men, including officers, andalthough the serjeant-major was the only one who was not able to come upon the batteries, when it is considered, that several of the men, worn out by disease, and disabled by accidents, were incapable of making any great exertion; that uncertain when an attack might be made in the night, it was necessary to divide our force very much to occupy the different posts, I hope and trust it will appear to our King and Country, that the garrison I had the honour to command, did not submit without discharging its duty like British soldiers.——Our loss consists of a drummer, 8 rank ank file, killed; 2 officers, 8 rank and file, wounded.—Total 19.——Of the enemy, according to the most correct accounts I can procure, 3 officers and 40 men, killed, or since dead; 2 officers and 30 men, wounded.—Total 75.—Capt. Lloyd, who has already on several occasions been mentioned as a deserving officer, both here and at Sierra Leone, continues to merit very great praise. ——Doctor Heddle having proposed some time back to do military duty, I gladly accepted his offer, and he has given me great assistance; his wound, which was at first thought to be mortal, having taken a favourable turn, I am now happy to think he will recover, and I earnestly wish to recommend him to your lordship's notice, as distinguished by his conduct on this occasion, and also by his attention to his medical duties since we came to Africa——I have the honour to be, &c.

JOHN FRASER.

Right Hon. Lord Hobart, &c. &c. &c.

*Goree, Africa, January* 18.

The French being in possession of the hill, the squadron being ready to land more troops, a considerable number of men being killed and wounded on both sides, and farther resistance offering only the prospect of occasioning an unnecessary effusion of blood, the following terms of capitulation were agreed to:——Art. I. The Island of Goree, with its dependencies, shall be delivered up to the French government as it now stands.——Art. II. The British garrison having laid down their arms in the North Battery, which they continue to occupy, shall be furnished without delay with a sufficient vessel as a cartel, to carry them to Great Britain, Colonel Fraser giving his parole of honour for himself, his officers, and soldiers, not to serve during the present war, against the French Republic, or its allies, until regularly exchanged. ——Art. III. The officers and soldiers shall preserve their baggage and effects, which shall be embarked with them.——Art. IV. The inhabitants shall retain possession of their properties, without prejudice, however, to any orders to the contrary which may hereafter be given by General Blanchot, Commandant and Administrator General of Senegal and its dependencies.——Agreed upon and executed in two copies, to be exchanged between us, the day and year already mentioned.

(Signed) JOHN FRASER, Col. Afr. Corps. MAHE, Lieut. de Vaisseau, and Commanding the Division. (To be continued.)

## SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

MR. DRAKE.—A correspondent, whose letter I have inserted in a former page of this sheet, seems to think, that my expressing an opinion, that the letters attributed to Mr. Drake were genuine, was doing an

act of injustice to that gentleman; because, if the letters are genuine, they implicate Mr. Drake in the intention to commit a most henious and infamous crime, the crime of assassination. Now, when this correspondent has re-perused what I wrote (p. 560 of the present volume), let me ask him, whether my words will bear any such construction? Whether, from any thing I said, it can possibly be inferred, that, supposing the letters to be genuine, I attributed to the writer of them an intention to commit the crime of assassination; or, indeed, any *crime* at all? Incaution and credulity to excess I did, indeed, ascribe to Mr. Drake; but weakness and wickedness are very different in their nature, though they may often be equally mischievous in their consequences. ——It is true that I appeared to entertain *little doubt* as to the authenticity of the letters. I entertained, indeed, none at all; and, I am deceived if the resting Mr. Drake's guilt, or innocence, as to the charge of abetting in assassination, upon the issue of any inquiry respecting the authenticity of the letters; I am very much deceived, if this be an act for which that gentleman will feel much gratitude to his friend.——The fact is, that the ministerial writers received the French papers, containing the Munich collection, too late at night to allow them time to go to the Treasury underlings for instruction; and, as they saw that the Grand Judge imputed Mr. Drake's letters to instructions received from his government; as they saw, that their paymasters of Downing Street and Whitehall were to be made responsible for the letters, they, like faithful and zealous slaves, but having more zeal than knowledge, set up, as it were by concert, an unanimous cry of *fabrication*. This cry reached the country; and, while it gained credit amongst others, it is by no means wonderful that it should have been readily adopted by the friends of Mr. Drake. Those friends, however, will, by this time, I imagine, see the danger of allowing him to be guilty of a crime if the letters attributed to him are proved to be authentic; for, they will have perceived, that the Doctor, though he did, on the 16th instant, when called on, in Parliament, by Lord Morpeth, utter some very big words about the atrocious calumnies published against us by the French government; though he did, in most delightful bombast, pledge his honour, and not only his honour, but that of all his colleagues, that they had neither done nor sanctioned any thing not strictly consistent with the laws and usages of the nations of modern Europe; though he did positively declare, that ministers were not, either directly or indirectly implicated in the transaction alluded to by Lord Morpeth (Mr. Drake's correspondence), and that they had not given instructions or authority to any one human creature for the purpose of carrying on such a negotiation; and, though he did promise, that he would take the strongest means of convincing the world of the purity of the intentions of himself and the rest of his Majesty's ministers; though the Doctor came out with all this, he did, nevertheless, not think it prudent to deny, or to call in question, the *authenticity* of Mr. Drake's letters; but, on the contrary, he evidently evaded that point, by stating that the government had not received any information from Mr. Drake upon the subject. Indeed, this declaration of the Doctor amounts very nearly to an abandonment of Mr. Drake, the best defence of whose conduct, as far as it is defencible (and I have never said that it may not be so in a great degree), will, probably, be found in the fact of his having acted *in perfect conformity with the instructions he received*.——What are those "strongest means," which the Doctor is about to employ, in order "to convince the world of "the purity of the intentions of himself and "the rest of his Majesty's ministers," it would be temerity to guess. Perhaps the Doctor intends to prove, that he and his colleagues never knew any thing of Mr. Drake's correspondent, MEHÉE DE LATOUCHE? Perhaps the tin-man minister intends to prove, that that famous Septembriser was never received with open arms and caressed at Lord Hawkesbury's office? That no money was paid to him, either while he remained here, or at his departure; and, that he never was recommended to Mr. Drake? Perhaps the Doctor means to prove all this; and, for the honour of the country, I sincerely hope he may succeed, though the reputation of Mr. Drake should thereby be thought to suffer. But, until it be proved, that MEHÉE DE LATOUCHE, who was in this country at the breaking out of the war, had no audiences in Downing Street, received no money from ministers, and never was recommended to Mr. Drake; until this be proved, we ought to be cautious how we blame that gentleman, except, indeed, for condescending to serve at all under such a man as Lord Hawkesbury, an act of meanness never to be excused upon any plea less powerful than that of a real and immediate want of the necessaries of life.

DIVISIONS IN PARLIAMEMT. — Notwithstanding the great pains that have been

taken, the numerous arts and intrigues that have been used, to prevent a formidable opposition in Parliament, such an opposition appears, at last, to be assuming a solid shape and to be pushing forward in a rational course; and, in spite of all the canting and clamour that we have heard against it, an union of talents has, it is to be hoped, now been formed with an unalterable resolution to put an end to the too-long endured triumph of low-cunning, of selfishness, and imbecillity. The Doctor has constantly expressed his abhorrence of *divisions*: he and his colleagues have, like the "seeking "saints," who frequented St. Stephen's in the middle of the 16th century, "earnestly besought the Lord to suffer no "divisions except amongst their adversaries;" and, it must be confessed, that till very lately, their desire was completely gratified; for, the Parliament really seemed to have given up the nation to their mercy. Divisions have, however, at last, taken place, and it is necessary, by way of introduction to the remarks about to be offered on the state and views of parties, to give a brief history of these divisions, the first of which took place, in the House of Commons on the 16th instant, upon a motion for the third reading of the Irish Militia Augmentation Bill, which was opposed by the Opposition. The division was, for the third reading 128; against it 107; majority for the ministry, 21. On the 19th, in the House of Lords, where several divisions of inferior note had already taken place, the House divided twice; first, upon a motion of the Earl of Carlisle for papers relative to the time when advices of the rupture with France was communicated to our commanders and governments in India, which was opposed by the ministers, and which was carried by the Opposition, 31 against 30, leaving the ministry in a minority of one; second, the House divided upon a motion for the second reading of the Irish Militia Transfer Bill, which was opposed by the Opposition, and which was carried by the ministry, 77 against 49, leaving the Opposition in a minority of 28. On the 23d, the House of Commons divided upon Mr. Fox's motion for a Committee of the whole House to inquire into the state of the defence of the country; for the motion 204, against it 256; leaving the ministry a majority of 52. On the 24th, in the House of Lords, two important divisions took place: the first, on a motion of Lord Grenville for introducing into the Irish Militia Transfer Bill, an explanatory clause, respecting Roman Catholics, which the ministers opposed, and which opposition they carried by dividing 71 against 45, having a majority of 26: the other division this day took place upon the question of passing the bill, when there appeared for the bill 94, against it 61, leaving the ministers a majority of 32. On the same day, the House of Commons divided on a motion of Mr. Dent for referring the act relative to the loyalty loan to a Committee of the whole House: for the motion 76, against it 100, leaving the ministry a majority of 24. On the 25th, the House of Commons divided upon a motion of Mr. Pitt for opposing the Speaker's leaving the chair in order for the House to go into a Committee on the Army of Reserve Suspension Bill: for Mr. Pitt's motion 203, against it 240, reducing the ministerial majority to 37, and inflicting swift and signal chatisement upon what has very justly been called "the "saucy boast" of the inutility of good opposition speeches, while opposed to "good ministerial votes." When this boast was made, the boaster little imagined, that he would soon be able to count his majority by twice going over his fingers and toes. Once will soon serve him; and, I should not be at all surprized, if, before this day [the 26th] week, the fingers of one hand were amply sufficient for the purpose. In another place, we are told of a boast, in which the ministers were compared to "*giants refreshed!*" Really, it were hard to find words wherein to express one's self here, did not every other feeling give way to that of compassion.—It is not long since, if we are to believe the parliamentary reports, Mr. Yorke expressed his indifference as to whether the opposition members chose to "*exercise their lungs*," or not. Mr. Yorke has found, by this time, that the choice was not of a nature so very unimportant; he has found, that those lungs have not been exercised in vain; for, that, with all the "prudence" of the "safe politicians," their "good ministerial votes" are fast melting away before the "good opposition "speeches."

COALITION.—This is the watch-word of the ministers: every thing they attempt to say, either by way of attack or defence, begins and ends with this word. Their clamour is so monotonous, so strongly descriptive of despair, and has so regularly increased, both in frequency and loudness, with the increase of their difficulties, that it always calls to my recollection the cries of the American frogs, in that season when the sun is imbibing the water from the ponds. At first you hear only now and then a so-

ary voice of complaint; but, as the dimi-ution in the vital element becomes more nd more visible, the cries increase in num-er and vehemence; till, at last, when hese sons of spawn, these safe politicians of he meadow, clearly perceive their ap-roaching fate, their dissonance grows so oud and so dismal, that the neighbouring ottagers collect together, and, with one nited effort, put an end, at once, to their lamour and their lives.——Far be it from me to justify any act whatever by pleading the example of the present ministers; but, when those ministers are exclaiming against a coalition, or co operation, between per-sons, who have heretofore differed widely in opinion, it is certainly allowable to in-quire how they themselves stand in that respect. On the ministerial bench sits the Doctor, with Mr. Tierney on one side of him and Lord Castlereagh on the other, the former a constant opposer of the late war with France and the latter a constant supporter of it; the former a constant op-poser of the strong measures relative to Ireland and the latter the constant defen-der, if not the projector, of those measures. When he has reconciled these conflicting elements, then the Doctor has to tell us, how he *himself* can unite with *Lord Castle-reagh*, who was the chief instrument in the affair of catholic emancipation, and who now is acting in the same ministry with him, the Doctor, who has declared, that he holds his house at the Treasury solely upon the condition of inflexible resistence to the claims of the catholics! And, how do Mr. Yorke and Mr. Hobhouse come to go on so harmoniously together? And Colonel Mait-land too, who steadily opposed the war with France, until he deserted the ranks of Mr. Fox, in order to take a share in con-ducting that war, with what advantage to the nation let the reader learn from the history of the Saint Domingo campaigns.—And, these are the men who have the con-fidence to stigmatize as an unprincipled coalition, that co-operation subsisting be-tween Mr. Pitt, Mr. Fox, Lord Grenville and Mr. Windham, who are now not to agree, because they once disagreed; who are not to coalesce for the purpose of in-quiring into the state of the national de-fence, because they disagreed respecting the French revolution! A *coalition* is neither more nor less than a joining together, and, in parties, it means a co-operation, an act-ing together as one party, and, if you will, with a view of becoming a ministry. There are no proofs, that, between the great men just mentioned, such a coalition has taken place; and, I am disposed to believe, that their co-operation has, at present, no other object in view, than that of convincing his Majesty, that his servants do not possess the confidence of the Parliament and the country, and, thereby, to effect the re-moval of those servants, an object, at all times, strictly constitutional, and, at this moment, peculiarly laudable. Therefore, whatever may have been, or may yet be, the difference in their general political principles and views, or in their particular opinions as to the measures now pursued, or to be pursued, that difference has no-thing to do with the immediate object now in pursuit; for, though their joining to-gether in a cabinet might be impossible, that does not prevent them from agreeing as to the utter inefficiency of the present cabinet. Though we were to grant it to be impossible for Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox amicably to share together the powers of the state, does it follow thence, that each of them would not rather see the other mi-nister than to see the place of minister filled by the Doctor?——Coalition, unless *inconsistency* accompany it, can never be re-garded as a ground of complaint against any set of public men, be they who they may; and, there can be no inconsistency in Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox now agreeing as to principles or measures *on which they never disagreed in their lives*. They have disagreed for twenty years: granted, as to most pub-lic measures. And, alas! how often has this been, with all real lovers of the coun-try, a subject of deep regret! Great, then, would be the inconsistency of such persons, were they to join in the senseless and venomous abuse, now heaped upon these gentlemen merely because they are beginning to agree! When, indeed, a coalition of persons, or parties, involves an abandonment of principle, and when this abandonment is apparent in some palpable instance of inconsistency, as in the case of Lord Castlereagh, and more conspicuously in that of Mr. Tierney, who assists in im-posing an income tax, to the very principle of which he, during his opposition, applied every term descriptive of *public robbery*; in such cases, indeed, it is allowable, it is just, to ascribe the coalition to some im-proper motive. But, can any abandonment of principle, can any mark of inconsistency, be pointed out in the conduct, during the recent debates, of either Mr. Pitt, Mr. Fox, or any member of the Opposition? Did any one of them defend what he had ever be-fore attacked? Did any one of them at-tack what he had ever before defended?

In short, though the members of the Opposition have coalesced as well as the ministers, the former have only agreed to endeavour to carry points as to which they *never disagreed*, while the latter are, in several instances, supporting one another through principles and measures as to which they *have disagreed*.——There is, however, as was observed on a former occasion, one purpose for which the Doctor will allow not only Mr. Fox and Mr. Pitt but every other human being, to coalesce, and that is the . . . . . *support of the Doctor!* Here all his code of political morality gives way. Neither time nor space nor numbers nor principles nor passions form any bar to a coalition for this end. Coalition, when this is its object, is a most laudable thing. 'Come,' says the Doctor, 'let us be unanimous.' Well: there are Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox, who have opposed each other for these twenty years past, have united. Is not *that* an important step towards unanimity? All the talents and public character in the country are uniting. 'Yes,' say the Doctor, and his colleagues, 'but that is not 'what we mean: we mean unanimity *in* 'support of us, his Majesty's confidential ser-'vants.' Such; disguise the sentiment how they will, such is the language of their hearts; such the modest pretension of the Sherneys, the Addingtons, the Jenkinsons, and the Bragges! And, to the shame of the country be it acknowledged, that this pretension has been preferred, not only with impunity but with success. Yes, to our deep and indelible disgrace be it acknowledged, that, for three long years, our country has lain prostrate at the feet of this junto of upstarts.——"Divide and govern" was the maxim upon which the Devil acted, and, in this respect, at least, the Doctor has followed his example. A development of all the arts he has made use of for the purpose of preventing an union of the opposite parties, all his traits of low-cunning, all his wheedling and canting conversations, messages, and epistles, would be curious in the extreme. He has, however, failed at last: the junction has taken place, and he must fall before it. It is *a year ago this very day* [26th of April], that I took the liberty strenuously to urge an union of the great men of all parties, for the purpose of removing the ministers; for delivering us from the degrading curse of their power. I have once before quoted the words I then made use of; but, as this is a time when the tongue of misrepresentation is extremely busy and obstrusive; as every effort is making by the Treasury slaves to inculcate the notion of *inconsistancy* of conduct in me, and thereby to lessen even the little influence which they are good enough to allow me to possess, I must again beg leave to repeat the passage to which I allude —"To rouze the "people from the deadly state of indifference, into which the disgraces of the last "eighteen months have plunged them, is "or ought to be, now the object of those who "wish to save the country; and is this ob-"ject to be effected by a low selfish juggle, "such as I have described?" [The patching up of a ministry between Mr. Pitt and Mr. Addington, which was then much talked of.] "No, never! And I further believe, that a "return of the former ministry, to the exclu-"sion of all other persons, would have no "very great good effect. It would, indeed, "put a stop to degrading concessions, it "would revive confidence in the commer-"cial and monied men, it would restore us "to some little degree of consequence "abroad; but, *in the hearts of the people*, "'there, where we must live, or have no "'life, the fountain from which our current "'runs, or else dries up:' on that most pre-"cious, that vital part of the empire, such a "change would, I sincerely believe, be very "far from producing an effect commensu-"rate with the perils of our situation. To re-"store this country to her former greatness, "to save her from destruction (for she must "be great or she must be nothing,) the peo-"ple must be rouzed from their lethargy, "they must be animated, their minds must "be filled with high and honourable no-"tions, their danger must be placed fairly "before them, and they must be made to "resolve, not only on a resistance of that "danger, but on a removal of the cause of "it. Unless this can be accomplished, the "country is doomed to sink, not into po-"verty, insignificance, and contempt, but "into absolute slavery. And this, I think "cannot be accomplished without an ad-"ministration, which, in presenting some-"thing *new* as well as great, shall excite "new hopes. The present ministers can "be looked upon as nothing more than the "dregs of the old administration; the mere "return, therefore, of that old administra-"tion, *would only tend to revive party ani-"mosities*, unaccompanied with any one "sentiment favourable to the energy of the "government or the salvation of the coun-"try. A ministry composed of men of *ta-"lents*, and of *great public influence* collect-"ed from ALL THE PARTIES *that have "hitherto existed*, taking, as the bond of their "union, an inflexible determination to re-"sist the aggrandizement of France, and, at

a proof that they themselves are pledged to a real responsibility, bringing the present ministers to a strict account for their conduct; with an administration so formed, so cemented, and so acting, the people would venture their last shilling and their last drop of blood; but, by any change which shall bear the marks of juggle, of selfishness, of mere love of rule, of rank, or of money, they will remain totally unmoved. They will continue obedient and silent, but it will be a cold grudging obedience, and a sullen silence. —Next to a ministry, such as I wish to see, *an* OPPOSITION *of the same stamp is desirable.* The old ground of warfare, between *the great and leading men of the country* NO LONGER EXISTS. Though not in place, they are in Parliament, and there they *ought to unite* for the purpose of preventing our final destruction. And, why do they not so unite? Why are they *all* silent in their seats, though, out of those seats, every one of them declares, that the present measures directly lead to inevitable ruin? Is it that they are all seeking to gratify their own ambition; and, not being able to agree as to the division of the power, is each afraid to stir, lest his movements should favour the views of his rival? Are they actuated by motives like this? Is this the tenure on which Mr. Addington holds his place? Is it thus that they are held in silence and subjection? that they are become the mere automata, the sport, the mockery of a man, by whom, while they look on him with ineffable contempt, they are twirled about on the pivot of their own interests? This were, indeed, a shame, a disgrace, too great to be endured, and I trust that the result will contradict the supposition." —Now, I trust, it will be remembered, that this passage was published long *before* there had appeared the least disposition towards an union between Mr. Fox and Mr. Windham; and, even before the declaration of war, as to which they so widely differed in opinion. But, indeed, as I always thought, that the country could not be relieved from the disgrace of being ruled by the Tierneys and Jenkinsons without a junction of parties, as I was well aware of the mighty force, as to numbers, which the Doctor possessed in consequence of possessing the command of the Treasury, I always was anxious for such a junction, for the purpose of breaking up the present ministry, whether the conquerors agreed, or not, as to the formation of another, seeing that it was utterly impossible that a worse could be formed. This, it must be allowed, is a subject of some anxiety, because, at the present moment, we stand in need of a wise and vigorous administration, and one not very greatly shackled by opposition; but, as to the materials, the present opposition could furnish *twenty ministries*, the most inefficient of them infinitely more efficient than the Doctor and his colleagues. It is a maxim with some of their partizans, that ten or a dozen shop-keepers collected promiscuously in the Strand, would make as good a ministry as any other: and, really, if the present ministers were suffered to remain in power to the end of their lives, or till they chose to resign, it would be hard to say, why their successors should not be taken from off the shop-board or from behind the counter. There is no reason to suppose, that the present junction has at all in view the formation of a new ministry; there is no appearance of such an object; and, if there were such an appearance we ought to regard it as deceitful, since the fact has been openly and explicitly denied. The object is to remove the present ministry, and to leave it to his Majesty to choose another, an object much more consonant to the spirit of the constitution than the doctrine now prated by the ministers, who object to being turned out, because, as they choose to affect to apprehend, nobody will be found to agree in replacing them. In the approaching change, his Majesty will be *unshackled* in his choice. He will not have a ministry thrusted upon him. The persons whom he may be pleased to honour with royal favour will be truly *his* ministers, and not the tools, not the "sitting part" of others, left upon the Treasury Bench merely for the purpose of keeping it till their masters chose to return. This, if no other reason, would render a change desirable; for, look at the present ministers, in a party view, as long as you please, turn them as often as you will, you still find them made up of the dregs of the old ministry and of deserters from the old Opposition; and yet, these are the men whose partisans have the assurance to exclaim against coalitions!

"KING'S FRIENDS."—This appellation came into use about five and twenty or thirty years ago, and was then, as it is now, exclusively claimed by a set of selfish sycophants, friends to nobody but themselves, and, while adding to their own riches, caring nothing about the fate of either King or Country. To this sort of "friends" his Majesty then owed the loss of his Colonies, and to the same description of "friends" he now owes the loss of his Electorate: the former drove him from the continent of

America, the latter have driven him from the continent of Europe. Much, however, is done by the use of *a name*. The world, in general, are too indolent to inquire as to whether names be justly applied If Despard had constantly called himself a "king's friend," he would have been regarded as such, without any examination whatever into the justice of his claim.——The appellation of "king's friends" is used out of doors: in the Parliament, "his Majesty's *confidential servants*," is the phrase, a phrase conveying a notion utterly abhorrent to the main principles of the monarchy, and directly leading to consequences not less subversive of the prerogative of the Sovereign than of the liberties of his people. Having assumed the name of "king's *friends*," or, "*confidential* servants," they leave it to be concluded (not forgetting, however, to lend the aid of some very intelligible hints and insinuations), that all their opponents are king's *enemies*, and that the King has, of course, *no confidence* in them: whence it follows, in due course of reasoning, that the present object of the parliamentary opposition, is, to force a ministry into power *against the will* of his Majesty, and therein, according to their own expression, "to invade the undoubted prerogative of the crown!"——When the republicans tell us, that, notwithstanding the theoretical parliamentary check, our monarchy is as absolute as any upon earth, we deny the fact, and assert, that the monarchy is really limited by the power of the Parliament, which power is practically and efficiently exercised, when necessary, in opposing the ministers, and thereby producing a change of ministers and of measures. But, if we admit the doctrine of the pretended "king's friends," our republican adversaries certainly have reason and truth on their side; for, according to this doctrine, to make a parliamentary opposition for the purpose of effecting a change of ministers and of conduct in the executive branch of government, is, to "invade the undoubted prerogative of the crown;" and, thus, we are reduced to the necessity, either of allowing the monarchy to be absolute and the republican sarcasm to be just, or, of contending that the Parliament constantly possesses the power and the right of committing an act very little short of high treason!—— Leaving this doctrine to its inevitable fate, let us ask a little: *who* and *what* are these "king's friends;" these servants of his Majesty, who apply to themselves exclusively the epithet "*confidential?*" The two Addingtons, the Jenkinsons, the Edens, Mr. Hobhouse, Mr. Bragge, Mr. Adams, Colonel Maitland, Mr. Bond, Mr. Golding, Lord Castlereagh, Mr. Yorke, Mr. Percival, and that famous king's friend Mr. Tierney! And this, then, is the set, whom we are to regard as the friends, the first, the leading, the greatest, the most sincere, the *bosom friends* of our Sovereign! Were not this insinuation most daringly slanderous, with respect to his Majesty, we should, indeed, be a people degraded beyond the power of description. But, daringly slanderous it is: his Majesty has no partiality for these men: the far greater part of them were thrusted upon him, at a moment of great public anxiety and danger, and when there was no time for deliberation or choice: the rest have crept into place singly and imperceptibly: nor has any one of the ministers, or the whole of them together, ever received any *special* mark of the royal confidence. And, as to his Majesty's having, for so long a time, and in spite of all the calamity and disgrace they have brought upon the country, retained these ministers, that can by no means be construed into a mark of his *confiding* either in their talents or integrity; for, *till now*, where did he see a party to take in their stead? Out of the ministry all was division. The men fit to be ministers not only disagreed as to the measures which ought to be pursued; but, they could not agree in openly censuring those which were pursued, though they all disapproved of them. They all agreed as to the utter incapacity of the present ministers; but, till now, a rivalship natural to great minds, a rivalship for power and for fame, would not suffer them to co-operate even so far as to give each other a chance of preference. At last, however, every other consideration has given way to that of the danger of the country: they have, at last, happily united, for the purpose of affording their Sovereign an opportunity of making choice of more able ministers; and, notwithstanding all the insinuations to the contrary, notwithstanding the presumptuous language of those who now pretend to have the exclusive possession of his friendship and confidence, there is every reason to suppose, that, of the millions, who will rejoice at their downfall, there is not one, to whom that event will give greater pleasure than to his Majesty.

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